

political ends; to substitute ideology for science, fact, and law; and to misuse instruments of power.

If an administration rigged the intelligence process and, on faulty intelligence, sent our country to war, if an administration descended to interrogation techniques of the Inquisition, of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, descended to techniques that we have prosecuted as crimes in military tribunals and in Federal courts, if institutions as noble as the Department of Justice and as vital as the Environmental Protection Agency were subverted by their own leaders, if the integrity of our markets and the fiscal security of our budget were open wide to the frenzied greed of corporations and speculators and contractors, if taxpayers were cheated and the forces of the Government rode to the rescue of the cheaters and punished the whistleblowers, if our Government turned the guns of official secrecy against our own people to mislead, confuse, and propagandize them, if the integrity of public officials, the warnings of science, the honesty of Government procedures and the careful historic balance of our separated powers all were seen as obstacles to be overcome and not attributes to be celebrated, if the purpose of Government became no longer to solve problems but simply to work them for political advantage, and a bodyguard of lies and jargon and propaganda was emitted to fool and beguile the American people, something very serious would have gone wrong in our country.

Such damage must be repaired. I submit that as we begin the task of rebuilding this Nation, we have a duty to our country to determine how great that damage is. Democracy is not a static institution. It is a living education, an ongoing education in freedom of a people.

As Harry Truman said, addressing a joint session of Congress back in 1947:

One of the chief virtues of a democracy is that its defects are always visible, and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected.

We have to learn the lessons from this past carnival of folly, greed, lies, and wrongdoing so the damage can, under democratic processes, be pointed out and corrected. If we bind ourselves to this history, we deny ourselves its lessons, lessons that came at too painful a cost to ignore.

Those lessons merit disclosure and discussion. Indeed, disclosure and discussion makes the difference between this history being a valuable lesson for the bright and upward forces of our democracy or a blueprint for those darker forces to return and someday do it all over again. As we work toward a brighter future ahead, to days when jobs return to our cities, capital to our businesses, and security to our lives, we cannot set aside our responsibility to take an accounting of where we are, what was done, and what must now be repaired. We also have to brace ourselves for the realistic possibility that

as some of this conduct is exposed, we and the world will find it shameful, revolting. We may have to face the prospect of looking with horror at our own country's deeds.

We are optimists, we Americans. We are proud of our country. Contrition comes hard to us. But the path back from the dark side may lead us down some unfamiliar valleys of remorse and repugnance before we can return to the light. We may have to face our fellow Americans saying to us: No, please, tell us we did not do that, tell us Americans did not do that. And we will have to explain somehow.

This is no small feat and not easy. This will not be comfortable or proud, but somehow it must be done.

Chairman LEAHY has embarked on the process of considering a new commission, one appropriate to the task of investigating the damage the Bush administration did to America, to her finest traditions and institutions, to her reputation and integrity. The hearing he has called in coming days will more thoroughly examine this question to help us determine how best to move forward. I stand with him. Before we can repair the harm of the last 8 years, we must learn the truth.

REMEMBERING LARRY H. MILLER

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I wish to speak of one of Utah's most outstanding citizens, Larry H. Miller, who passed away recently.

Larry Miller is a true American success story. He graduated from high school. He wasn't able to cut it in college and ended up working in a parts department in an auto dealership. Not a very auspicious beginning for someone who became a billionaire, but Larry Miller had two things that many people do not have. No. 1, he had in effect a photographic memory. I understand that if you went to Larry Miller while he was running this parts department and asked for an axle or for a head lamp or for any other auto part, he knew exactly where it was. Somehow he had that in his head and he made a tremendous success out of that. He ultimately began his career by buying an auto dealership and then built a string of 40 auto dealerships.

The other thing he had was an incredible work ethic. Larry Miller worked hard every day and demanded that kind of performance from those who worked with him.

He is best known in Utah for the fact that he was the minority owner of the Utah Jazz, the NBA's least successful team financially. The Jazz reached the point where they had to be sold because they couldn't survive anymore. They were losing money at every turn. The majority partner made a deal whereby the franchise would be sold to someone outside of the State. As minority partner, Larry Miller was required to sign the deal. He picked up the pen to sign the deal and then he couldn't bring himself to sign it, and

he turned to the majority partner and said, Sam, I can't do it. So he bought the majority partner out, kept the Jazz in Utah, and then he presided over the revival of the Jazz. They won more games. They have been in the playoffs more than most people. They have been to the national finals twice and the only reason they haven't won an NBA national championship is because the Chicago Bulls had Michael Jordan at the time. Against any other team or any other star, the Jazz would have won the NBA championship. I remember the last failed game very well, and the shot Jordan put up that won the game that was fantastic, but that was Jordan's legacy.

Larry Miller is known for all of these things, but that is not how I wish to remember him before the Senate here today, because this man, who was a philanthropist and gave his money to community colleges to help people who were more like him in terms of their academic needs, became in his later years a history buff. He fell in love with the Founding Fathers. I remember talking to Larry Miller about John Adams, about Thomas Jefferson, and recommending a book to him. He had just read McCullough's book on John Adams and I said, Have you read Joseph Ellis's book, "Founding Brothers"? He said, no. I said, I will send it to you. I got caught up in all of my difficulties and all of my distractions and realized I had failed to keep my word. So finally, with some embarrassment, I got hold of Larry and said, I apologize I have not sent you a copy of "Founding Brothers." He said, that is all right, Senator. I went out and bought one on my own. He followed through where I didn't.

He fell in love with this country, not as an entrepreneur, although he did that way; not as someone who had been very successful and blessed by this country, although he did that way; but toward the end of his life he fell in love with this country as one who studied its history and understood its underpinnings. He was generous. He was inventive. He was tenacious. The people of Utah have been more than blessed by the fact that he chose Utah as his home. We miss him terribly and extend our deepest sympathies to his family.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the rules of procedure for the Special Committee on Aging printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING—JURISDICTION AND AUTHORITY

S. Res. 4, §104, 95th Congress, 1st Session (1977)

(a)(1) There is established a Special Committee on Aging (hereafter in this section referred to as the "special committee") which shall consist of nineteen Members. The Members and chairman of the special committee